4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

findings of the previous item, as is the fact that the majority structure it in terms of survival issues. The relative differences between the two items in the percentage of individuals holding these views (20 percent vs. 13 percent regarding interpersonal anxieties; 61 percent vs. 57 percent regarding survival anxieties) are obviously not significant.

The remaining responses on this item resist easy categorization. Eight percent of the villagers speak in general terms about their greatest problem being their desire for happiness, a response whose major significance is probably the fact that it is given by such a small number of persons. This is not to suggest that the majority of villagers are either happy or unhappy; it is simply to indicate that few have the need to articulate a general sense of unhappiness. (Indeed, from a few of the items in the "Dominant Drives and Wishes" section, it is clear that a sizable minority of villagers feel that given the possibilities of this world, they are in fact quite content. See particularly the item, *"He wishes he were. . . ."*) A few villagers here, both young males, also speak about the uncertainty of their futures as sources of worry. One villager says that her greatest problem is that she wants too much, suggesting a desire on her part for greater self-control.

The remaining items in this section are of a different order from the above. They ask villagers to describe how they would react to frightening or worrisome situations. The items are, *"If one is frightened, the best thing to do is . . ."* and *"When something worried him, he usually. . . ."* One of the more interesting attributes of the responses to both items is the sense of familiarity with these situations that they reveal. The responses are pointed, emotionally loaded (although not excessively so), and unembarrassed, suggesting again the villagers' tolerance of their own existential limitations. Their emotional tone also suggests that my assistant was originally correct when he said that it was "easy" for villagers to express their feelings of fear. In both cases, the responses tend to follow a bi-modal distribution, although the two modes are clearly related to each other psychologically.

To *"If one is frightened, the best thing to do is . . ."* 40 percent of the informants respond by saying that they would keep cool, calm, and *chəəj*. However, what is intriguing is that this is all that they would do. Their aim is to get their emotions back under control, their personal stability being paramount to any other consideration, such as discovering what caused the fright, how they might deal with the cause, or fighting that cause. The other major response, held by 31 percent of the villagers, is to express dependency. However, what is most important here is that this is a metaphorical dependency, involving seeking help from the Lord Buddha or from Allah (for Moslems) or from one's "soul-stuff," rather than from other human beings.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

premise of the item in order to express their satisfaction over their present and traditional state is not without significance. It is important to note that were we to deduct the six "competent worker" responses from the previous category, this category would then represent the majority.

The third major response, given by 20 percent of the sample, describes being a "good," "respected," and "non-trouble-making" individual as the principal wish of the informant. A few of these villagers want to be "good

TABLE 26

He wishes he were . . .
Raw *wants to be . . .*

STATUS:	40%	a rich man. Then he could do anything he wanted.
		a teacher, in order to teach children so that they will have knowledge and be good children.
		an army officer.
		a person who has a lot of money and paddy fields, because I have many children. I have ten *raj* (four acres) of land now. What will the children do when they grow up? It worries me.
		a good worker, growing a lot of paddy.
STASIS:	25%	he does not want to be anything.
		he never wishes anything, because his status compels him to be what he is.
		he is quite content to remain a farmer.
GOOD PERSON:	20%	a man who behaves well and has goodness, virture, and honesty.
		a good person, not a *nagkleeng;* one who does not *thiawtree* (go out, enjoy oneself. leave the family).

citizens," a response which, although small in number, reflects the importance that villagers attach to being members of the nation-state. (Considering all the different things that they might wish to be, how many Americans would complete the item, *"He wishes he were . . ."* with the statement: ". . . a good American"?) More than half these informants, however, build an interpersonal dimension explicitly into their replies by saying that they either want to be persons who "do not lie or incite people, do not have trouble with others" or are persons "whom others trust and respect."

What is most revealing about the above responses are the unexpected omissions. There are no references at all to religious considerations, even on

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

the part of older people.[12] Particularly obvious is the absence of any reference to accumulating Buddhist merit. Neither is there any reference to the pleasures derived from dealing happily or enjoyably with other people. The closest we get to this is with the responses of two informants who are concerned mainly with the welfare of their children, and who speak in terms of "inspiring respect" in their children or assuming the role of "doctor" who, either by his knowledge (in case the children are ill) or wealth, could take care of them. Given all the conceivable things that villagers might wish to be—fanciful, real, personal, social, of this world, and of any world—the dominant wish is to have status, wealth, and respectability within their prevailing peasant context.

The next item, *"Most of all he wants to . . ."* is essentially a confirmation of the above findings. However, perhaps because of the syntax of the Thai version of the item and the inclusion of the word, "most" (*"The thing which raw wants the most is (namely) . . ."*) the responses assume a considerably more extreme and "unimodal" form. The overwhelming majority of the informants, 77 percent, want only one thing: money. A few of them say that they want what are essentially cultural variations of money: property, rice fields, land, cattle, and jewelry. Several of them almost wax purple about the significance of money in their lives: *"The thing which raw wants the most is (namely) . . .* have money and gold, because money can help us all the time. Whatever one wishes to have, one can use money to buy it all. Even when one wants a wife, if one has a lot of money one can have anyone's daughter"; ". . . have money. Money is better than anything else. It is only the moon and stars that money cannot buy"; ". . . to have money. She wants money very much because when she lacks other things she can find something to take their place, but when she lacks money she is most unhappy"; ". . . have wealth because everything else comes after that." These responses, of course, explicate the major function of money. They indicate that money is not an end in itself, but a means by which to achieve some of the other life goals appearing here.

The minority responses to this item are in no case held by more than four individuals. Four villagers do give religious responses, saying that what they want most is to accumulate merit (one mentions both merit and money); three refer to maintaining the welfare of their families (one of them merging money and succorance by saying that he wants enough money to provide for his family); and four say that they want happiness (again, two of them linking money and happiness together).

---

[12] There is nothing in the grammatical-semantic structure of the Thai version of this item inhibiting a religiously oriented response. The Thai cognate for the verb "to be" here is *"pen,"* which could easily result in a response such as ". . . *pen khon thii mii bun,"* or ". . . a person who has merit." This would be the most obvious "religious" completion under the circumstances.